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Akalis Must Give Lead In Building Cases On Waters And Punjabi-Speaking Areas

Leaving These Issues To Official Committees Height Of Folly

Akalis must marshal all their resources and talent within the Punjabi community to build up fool-proof cases about Punjab's claims on the leftout Punjabi-speaking areas and on more quota from Ravi-Beas surplus waters.

These were the two demands which had been bedevilling a settlement for the last four years. Now that two commissions and one tribunal are being appointed by the centre, we must not miss this golden opportunity.

The Punjab government has appointed two committees for the purpose. Its chairman, Sardar Manohar Singh Gill, IAS, have been asked to coopt other members also. All major political parties in the state have been requested to nominate one member each to these committees.

But Akalis must not be content with sending representatives to the official committees. They must gird up their loins, assemble all retired chief engineers, linguists, and research scholars from amongst Sikhs and Hindus, and present facts and figures in a way that no one can reject or ignore them.

One commission is to draw up a list of Hindi-speaking villages in Punjab which can be given to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. Here we must insist that Haryana gets only that much area which will be equal to that of the City Beautiful to be merged with Punjab. Nothing more. If Haryana demands that it be given area equal to that of Abohar-Fazilka belt, we must resist the move.

Joint teams of Punjab Hindus and Sikhs must be sent to each and every village of Haryana which we consider is Punjabi-speaking and which must come to Punjab. Fortunately, Punjabi-speaking Hindus in Haryana are much wiser now be-

cause of the step-motherly treatment they have been getting at the hands of Haryana ministers. Now they realise that even when they disowned Punjabi and hugged Hindi as mother

tongue, they were still treated as pariahs. Now they should be very eager to return to Punjab fold.

Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal plans basing his case on 1951 and 1961 census figures. But these had been declared null and void by the central government as these were, in words of Pandit Nehru, "patently false insofar as the mother tongue column was concerned". The

aim of Punjab Hindus then was to prevent the formation of a Punjabi-speaking state. Hence, their wrong declarations about Hindi being their mother tongue.

We must insist that 1981 census be taken as a base. When latest figures are available, why hark back to old, worm-eaten reports?

Punjab is at present utilising
(Continued on last page)

Police Must Avoid Patrolling Golden Temple's Inner Road

SGPC Should Not Allow Firearms Into Complex

A very piquant situation has arisen in the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar because of the patrolling on August 11 by an armed contingent, consisting of policemen and security forces, of the road which separates the Golden Temple's holy precincts from the adjoining buildings like Teja Singh Samundari Hall, Guru Ram Das Serai, Akal Rest House, and Guru Nanak Niwas.

Formerly, iron gates, built by SGPC, blocked the road at both the ends. But during Operations Bluestar in June last year, the army demolished these gates and converted it into an open road.

Since then the government has been contending that the road is a municipal property and, therefore, a thoroughfare which can be used by the public like any other road and over which the police and para-military forces have right to move about as part of their patrolling schedule.

In keeping with this contention, the armed contingent last week entered from Guru Ram Das Sarai side and after

patrolling the road made its exit from the Baba Atal side.

SGPC, in telegrams to Punjab Governor and union home ministry, has described the patrolling as "interference in Sikhs' religious affairs and an assault on their holy shrine." But the administration argues that the patrolling was "routine".

Both sides should exercise restraint. The government must realise that such action grievously wounds the religious feelings of the Sikhs, especially when the area involved has been considered an integral part of the Golden Temple complex for centuries together. At a time when efforts are being made to

apply healing balm to old wounds, such irritants should better be avoided.

A few days ago the police had to enter this very area to force apart warring groups of the two main Akali factions, one headed by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and the other led by Baba Joginder Singh, as firearms, lathis, kirpans and brickbats were openly used. If the police had not intervened, the government argues, there would have been dozens of dead and wounded.

SGPC must ensure that no one enters the premises with any firearm. If a person has any licensed revolver, pistol or rifle, he should be made to deposit it at the entrance gate. Necessary arrangements for this were made last year. Now they appear to have been discarded.

When our own men defile the holy premises with open usage of weapons, abusive language, and filthy placards and with violent demonstrations, our protests against police entry get automatically weakened.

Roadblocks In Way Of Panels For "Missing Youth"

Police Planting Arms and Cases On Surrendering Sikhs

Punjab Governor Arjun Singh deserve kudos for acting with appreciable speed to untie the skein of "missing Sikh youth", which has been agitating the minds of the community for the last three years or more.

Now panels have been appointed for all the 12 districts of Punjab as well as the union territory of Chandigarh, for which he is the administrator.

The panels give representation to all shades of opinion — politicians, scholars, and prominent citizens. They will, in coordination with the deputy commissioner and the senior superintendent of police of the district concerned, contact the families of the youth who had gone underground after Operation Bluestar last year.

The government will make public the names of persons

wanted by the police. The panels will look into the cases of those who surrender to the police. Then members will also ask the families of the underground youth to encourage them to surrender.

Mr Arjun Singh has announced that all those, who are not wanted in cases of murder, arson, sedition or waging war against the state, shall be released. But this is easier said than done.

There are numerous instances where the police had planted arms on Sikhs, who had surrendered to the authorities in

presence of wellknown leaders and citizens, and later claimed to have arrested them after an "encounter". Such excessive zeal on part of the police minions needs to be curbed.

There is also fear in the minds of these youth that they have been subjected to inhuman torture after their surrender in order to exact confessions from them for having committed one crime or the other. This dread has to be eliminated.

Of late, courts of law have been refusing to allow withdrawal of cases against so many Sikhs. There seems to be lack of coordination between various segments of the government machinery.

Also those released are re-arrested on other cooked-up charges.

All this leaves a bad taste in

the mouth of all.

Unless the governor ensures that his decisions are implemented with expedition and sincerity by his officials and unless the latter are prevented from wreaking personal vengeance on Sikh youth, an atmosphere of amity and goodwill will remain a distant dream.



Independence Number, 1955
SECULARISM AND THE SIKHS
(Sardar Kapur Singh's article)

The Sikhs, by virtue of their doctrines, beliefs and faith, believe that just as this phase of the State and politics is necessary and permanent, the voice of the Moral Conscience and the light of Religion is as indestructible a phase of human activity. The Sikhs assert that the Moral Conscience and the Religion have an inalienable right to be heard by the State and Politics. They have a right, which cannot be taken away by any man-made Constitution, to knock at the doors of the State and Politics, and they have a right to be heard and welcomed, not indeed, to be allowed to destroy or, replace the State and Politics, not to make them into prisoners, as Unam Sanctam claimed, but to influence them, to exert a perpetual and ever-present influence on them.

This is the real explanation and object of the Sikh tradition of wedding politics with the gurdwaras, and there is nothing in it which is hostile or antagonistic to the concept of secular State. There is nothing in the Indian Constitution Act which forbids such a wedding.

The Sikhs are not mindless thugs or acephalous people, as they are sometimes made out to be. They are loyal and dynamic citizens of India, with altogether remarkable history and rich revolutionary social heritage. Most of that which is vital and great in the trends embodied in our constitution, on close analysis found to be the contribution of the Sikhs and Sikhism to the Indian peoples, and the Republic of India may turn their faces, they can hope for no better allies or comrades than the Sikhs.

Let understanding and sympathy, and not preconception, malice and hostility, be brought to bear upon the genuine grievances and problems of this small, trusting, loyal but proud and sensitive people.

SGPC Files Rs. 1,000 Crore Damages Suit

The S.G.P.C. has filed a suit against the Government claiming the recovery of Rs 1,000 crore as damages for the loss caused to movable and immovable property of the Golden Temple and 42 other gurdwaras during Operation Bluestar in June last year.

The suit, filed in the court of the Senior Sub Judge, Mr D.S. Chatha, has Sardar Gurcharan Singh Tohra as one of the plaintiffs. The other applicant is the S.G.P.C. Secretary, Sardar Bhan Singh.

The suit prayed for the issuance of a mandatory injunction directing the defendants to tender an "unqualified apology" before the Sikh masses for "having caused deep sense of injury to the honour and self-respect of Sikhs".

It prayed for the declaration of the "attack" on the Golden Temple complex and the other gurdwaras by the armed forces, paramilitary forces and the police as wholly "unwarranted, unprovoked, deliberate, wanton, malicious and designed by the then ruling parry for gaining political advantage by dubious, and unlawful methods".

The case was filed on behalf of the S.G.P.C. by Sardar Surjit Singh Sood, an advocate of Jullundur.

Sardar Gurcharan Singh was present in the court when the suit was filed around 11.15 a.m. Others present were the S.G.P.C. Acting President Sardar Prem Singh Lalpura, Sardar Bhan Singh, and the S.G.P.C. Assistant Secretary, Sardar Abinashi Singh.

Sardar Chatha, who entertained the petition, has asked the court investigator to submit a report on August 14.

No court fee was paid for the

suit filed under Order 33, Rules 1 and 2 of the Civil Procedure Code on the plea that the petitioners did not possess "sufficient" means. The court fee payable in the case is Rs 10 crore.

The suit was filed on the expiry of the notices served under Section 80, C.P.C., on the defendants on June 11.

The defendants in the case are the Union of India through the Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, the Secretary, Ministry of Defence, and the State of

Punjab through the Collector, Amritsar.

The suit maintained that since some of the buildings were got repaired by the Government in violation of the Sikh tenets and traditions, the S.G.P.C. would have to dismantle and demolish them to reconstruct them, which meant an additional financial burden of Rs 100 crore as material loss. Between June 3 and August 31 when gurdwaras were attacked, the S.G.P.C. suffered a loss of Rs 500 crore.

The suit pointed out the destruction of life and property caused by the security forces and said valuable records of the gurdwaras were destroyed, including certain manuscripts written by the Sikh Gurus and historic documents preserved for centuries.

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A THOUGHT FROM GURBANI

O Nanak, this alone need we know,
That God, being Truth, is the one Light of all.
—Guru Nanak Dev

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GOOD AND BAD

As we celebrate the 38th anniversary of our independence, the natural urge is to cast a look behind the shoulders and draw a balance-sheet of our achievements and failures. Pride has to be the natural consequence of our successes while despondency and repentance should accompany our defeats on various fronts. At the dawn of our freedom, Pandit Nehru had proclaimed: "The freedom that we envisage is not to be confined to this section or that, or to a particular people, but must spread out to the whole human race." And India did set the pace for decolonisation. Now, barring a few patches, the entire world has been rid of colonies. But, unfortunately, most of the countries, soon after winning freedom, fell into the clutches of small vain men who try to frighten their peoples with the guns and the whip and with blowup images of themselves. Amidst the debris of fallen democracies all around, India alone stands as the bastion, refusing to fall prey to dictators, military or civil. This testifies to the health of our nation and of our political philosophy and democratic norms. Only for a few years of the emergency (1975-1977) were these overwhelmed by dark forces of tyranny and personal whims and fancies. But those sad days shall never come, rather shall never be allowed to return.

From a country, groaning under grinding poverty, we have emerged to be among the top highly-industrialised nations of the world. We produce almost everything needed by mankind for a useful life, from consumer goods to heavy machines, some of which are exported. Dozens of countries are pleading for export of our technical knowhow; we have also invaded the havens of USA, UK, Europe and USSR not only with small-scale items but also sophisticated ones. Our hosiery goods and readymade garments have taken the world by storm. But care has to be taken that sub-standard goods, sent by a few unscrupulous traders, are not allowed out, as they tend to mar our reputation. Our foreign policy, with non-alignment as the base, is respected now and not derided as "immoral". Warring nations look to us for forging peace among them. This is no mean achievement.

But there are black spots also. Corruption is rampant everywhere; it is not confined, in the main, to the "bottom", as Mr Rajiv Gandhi would have us believe, but it percolates from the top. "As the king, so the people". Black money runs a parallel economy, throwing out of gear various economic measures for amelioration of the commonman's lot. Prices are soaring high, with no one, with will, to arrest them. Above all, we have failed to build a national character. Everyone thinks of himself and not the nation. For sake of a small pottage of money, one can do any mean thing on this earth. Sometimes we wonder how we have managed to stay alive and in one piece. Surely, there is some God above who looks after us.

The Panth of Guru Nanak

By : Dr. J.S. Grewal

According to Sikh belief, the personal *guruship* instituted by Guru Nanak came to end with death of the tenth *Guru*, Gobind Singh, in A.D. 1708. Henceforth the function exercised by the *Gurus* had come to be vested jointly in the scripture and in the corporate body of the *Khalsa* instituted by Guru Gobind Singh. The *Khalsa* had also inherited the legacy of struggle against the rulers of the time from the days of Guru Gobind Singh himself and, henceforth, they became a decisive force in the politics of the Punjab. Thus, within two hundred years of Guru Nanak's death, his followers had come to present an appearance which is not easy to reconcile with the image of Guru Nanak as the apostle of peace and concord. Yet, according to Sikh belief, there was no deviation in this development from the principles laid down by the founder of Sikhism. Our purpose is to examine this development in relation to the interpretation of Guru Nanak's work by his successors and followers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In order to perceive the logical connections between the work of Guru Nanak and its interpretation by his successors and followers we may first note some of the most relevant aspects of Guru Nanak's life and work. As the culmination of a long and deep spiritual searching, he had experienced 'illumination' after having known much of the contemporary forms of religious belief and practice and, consequently, he was convinced that he had been called to proclaim divine truth to all men and women, irrespective of their caste or creed. For at least fifteen years he acted as guide to his regular disciples at Kartarpur (Dera Baba Nanak) and preached to those who visited the place. In terms of his posthumous influence, these years were the most important years of his life and work, for he now gave practical expression to his religious ideals. The idea of equality before God found expression in the congregational worship of the community at Kartarpur and in a common kitchen maintained by voluntary contribution in cash, kind or service. More significant than this was Guru Nanak's decision to use his own compositions for liturgical purposes, for it meant an unequivocal rejection of known scriptures and their authority. It also lent, logically, a unique importance to his compositions in the eyes of his followers for whom they came to

serve as a permanent source of inspiration. Equally important was his decision to nominate a successor from amongst his disciples before his death in A.D. 1539.

In the writings of Guru Nanak's successors and followers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is an unmistakable insistence on the uniqueness and universality of Guru Nanak's message. The belief that the truth discovered by Guru Nanak, and shown to others, is superior to any other is shared alike by his successors from Guru Angad to Guru Gobind Singh and by Bhai Gurdas, and the writer of the *janam-sakhis* of Guru Nanak. This belief is expressed in several ways. The most characteristic and the most comprehensive of such statements: Nanak is the *Jagat-guru* (the Preceptor of World); he is the *zahir-pir* (the Manifest Guide) and he is the *Guru* of the *Kalyuga* (Modern Age). Behind the universality and uniqueness of Guru Nanak's message, his followers and successors see the direct sanction of God; and Nanak the *Guru* stands in a special relationship with Him, sharing the traits of the *avtar* and the prophet but distinct from each. This conception of Nanak's position as the *Guru* was facilitated by his own concept of the *Guru* as the Divine Preceptor; the epithets which he used for the *Guru* of his own conception could easily be applied by his followers to Guru Nanak. For him, the *Guru* was the voice of God within the human heart; for his followers and successors this function was vested in Nanak himself who was qualified to instruct others by means of his exalted perception of the Divine Truth.

The uniqueness of Nanak the *Guru* had to be reconciled to the continuity of his word under his successors and this conciliation resulted in the idea of the unity of *guruship*. The appropriate metaphor of light mingling with light is the characteristic expression which suggests the unity. Angad is simply Nanak the second, Amardas is Nanak the third (and so on), for Nanak the *Guru* had become Angad the *Guru* and Amar Das the *Guru* (and so on). The office of the *Guru* is not only distinct from but also superior to the person. In this way is safeguarded not only the distinctive position of the founder but also the authority of his duly nominated successors, who by virtue of their office are enabled to take vital but legitimate decisions. These decisions became essentially an 'extension'

of Guru Nanak's work in the eyes of his followers.

Equally fertile was Guru Nanak's concept of the Word (*sabad*). In his compositions the *sabad* is one of the several crucial terms which refer to divine self-expression. It is the medium of communication between man and God. For the followers of Guru Nanak, this function is performed by the divinely inspired *sabad* or the *bani* of Guru Nanak, and also of his successors by virtue of their office. Thus, the compositions of the *Gurus* came to have a unique importance and the compilation of a canonical scripture, the *Granth*, by Guru Arjan in A.D. 1603-04 becomes a logical step from the rejection of known scriptures by Guru Nanak. Furthermore, the Word is equated by Guru Nanak himself with the *Guru*, and thus, the *Granth* becomes an alternative to the personal *guruship* of his successors. When Guru Gobind Singh decided not to nominate a successor to himself, he referred his Sikhs to the *bani* for inspiration and guidance.

Similarly, a certain amount of sanctity had come to be attached to the corporate body of the Sikhs before Guru Gobind Singh decided to dispense with the office of the personal *Guru*. In the compositions of Guru Nanak, there is good deal of appreciation for *sadhs* and *sants*; and association with them is commended. In due course the congregation of Sikhs came to be called *sadh-sangat* and the *Gurus* paid a great deal of consideration to the individual disciple and even a greater consideration to the *sangat*. The idea that the positions of the guide (*Guru*) and the disciple (*chela*) are in theory interchangeable is emphasized by Bhai Gurdas. The idea that the *Guru* or even God is in the *sadh-sangat* had become a popular idea before Guru Gobind Singh instituted the *Khalsa* or left them without a personal *Guru* to guide them.

Already in the early part of the seventeenth century, the followers of Guru Nanak were becoming conscious of their distinct entity. Guru Nanak had used the term *panth* simply for path. This epithet came to be applied first to the distinctive path shown by Guru Nanak and then to those who followed that path. Bhai Gurdas appears to use the terms *nirmal-panth* and *Gurmukh-panth* in both these senses. In an early *janam-sakhi* this growing awareness of the nature and function of the followers of Guru Nanak as a distinctive *panth* is clearly reflected: 'Go Nanak', says God, 'your *panth* will flourish. The name of this *panth* in the *janam-*

Behind the universality and uniqueness of Guru Nanak's message, his followers and successors see the direct sanction of God; and Nanak the Guru stands in a special relationship with Him, sharing the traits of the avtar and the prophet but distinct from each.

sakhi is the *panth* of Nanak. The *Nanakpanthis* have their distinct form of salutation and their distinct places of worship; their purpose is to spread the true religion of Nanak among mankind. The distinct identity of the *panth* of Nanak is unmistakable here.

It may now be noted that by the early seventeenth century the followers of Guru Nanak often conceive of his position in terms of sovereignty. In fact all the *Gurus* are the 'true kings' before whom temporal authority fades into insignificance. In the works of Guru Nanak, his preference for salvation over temporal power is clearly indicated.

This attitude is taken to its logical conclusion by his followers in a different context. As the true sovereigns, the *Gurus* are entitled to exclusive allegiance; those who do not submit to them are 'rebels'. We may be sure that 'sovereignty' and 'allegiance' are used metaphorically here. But we cannot ignore the possibility of these terms being taken literally under changed circumstances. At any rate, in the inscription used by Banda during the interlude of Sikh independence in the early eighteenth century, power and authority are derived from Guru Nanak himself.

As already noted, in the compositions of Guru Nanak there are numerous references to contemporary government and administration. In fact the range of his observations on contemporary politics is quite comprehensive. There is a good deal of emphasis upon oppression and corruption practised by the officials of the government and there is a good deal of insistence on the ideal of justice. These two aspects of Guru Nanak's utterances on politics are emphasized in early seventeenth-century literature produced by his followers. Bhai Gurdas, for instance, depicts the depravity of the age of Guru Nanak in terms which echo the utterances of the *Guru* himself. In the *janam-sakhis* of Guru Nanak compiled by Sodhi Miharban, the primary duty of the ruler is explicitly mentioned to be just. In relation to these

ideas, Guru Gobind Singh's insistence on moral justice in his letter to Aurangzeb is the culmination of an attitude which was implicit in the utterances of the founder of Sikhism.

The logical connections between the work of Guru Nanak and its interpretation by his successors or followers may now be as clear to the students of Sikh history as they were meaningful to the followers of Guru Nanak. The relevance of these ideas to the growth and development of the *panth* of Guru Nanak during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is unmistakable. They provide an indispensable insight into the beliefs and psychology of the followers of Guru Nanak as members of a new socio-religious group. It must not be supposed, however, that their consciousness of being distinct from the rest of their contemporaries necessarily meant hostility towards them. In fact, in the writings of the successors and followers of Guru Nanak there is as much insistence of amicable coexistence as on the superiority of their faith. To be a true Sikh of the *Guru* was to be above narrow considerations of caste or creed or community, including their own.

It is in the context of these ideas and attitudes that the entry of the followers of Guru Nanak into politics has to be viewed. Until the execution of Guru Arjan in A.D. 1606, the Sikhs or their *Gurus* do not appear to have entertained any political aspirations. Guru Hargobind, the son and successor of Guru Arjan, was the first to adopt martial activity and to fight against the representatives of contemporary government. But there is no evidence to suggest that Guru Hargobind attempted to establish any territorial power. The chief significance of his measures is his decision to resist 'unjust' force with force. This is the basic attitude also of his grandson, Guru Gobind Singh: 'His problem was to defend the claims of conscience against external interference'. The primary emphasis in his *Bachittar Natak* is on the justness of his cause and the necessity of espousing it, whatever the consequences. Indeed, his measures were direc-

ted against all those who interfered with the affairs of the *panth* of Guru Nanak. In the entire range of his writings there is no respect for any temporal authority, but there is no bitterness either. There is no identification of 'the enemy' with any community.

There is no doubt that the *panth* of Guru Nanak had become a political force of considerable importance before the death of his last successor. To have a better understanding of its character, we may leave the realm of ideas and institutions and turn to the social origins of those who composed the *panth*. Here only a broad view of their composition is possible. In the *vars* of Bhai Gurdas, most of the prominent followers of Guru Nanak to be mentioned are *khatri*; their chief profession was trade or service. These two are mentioned in the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* also as the two major professions of the Sikhs. But there is a third that is equally important: agriculture. It appears in fact that in the early seventeenth century a substantial proportion of the Sikhs consisted of Jat peasantry. The measures of Guru Hargobind were likely to bring the Jats into greater prominence, and the *Dabistan* testifies to the existence of Jat *Masands* whose leadership was accepted by *khatri*s and *brahmans* among the Sikhs. When Guru Gobind Singh instituted the *Khalsa*, the majority of the Jats in the effective membership of the *panth* was more or less ensured. It appears therefore that the entry of the *panth* into politics was accompanied by an increasing number of Jats in the *panth*.

The nature of the political struggle of the Sikhs in the eighteenth century further brought the Jats to the fore and the majority of those who now established their territorial principalities in the Punjab were naturally the Jats. The preponderance of the Jats in the effective membership of the *Panth* is certainly relevant to the political activity of the followers of Guru Nanak. But to explain that activity only in terms of the preponderance of the Jats would be to over-simplify the nature of the *Panth* and the ideas and beliefs of its members.

Moral Decay and Gross Incompetence

By : Dr. Swaminathan S. Aiyar

The incompetence of the police has been compounded by the courts. It is the easiest thing in the world for dacoits in Bihar or tax evaders in Bombay to get out on bail, bribe or intimidate witnesses, and go scotfree. Ill-paid government lawyers without motivation are no match for the top legal brains that can be hired by rich and influential criminals. It is the inability of the courts to convict criminals that first led the police to stage-manage encounters and kill criminals in cold blood. This seemed, to upright police officers, the only way of actually meeting the ends of justice. But,

In theory, India has an impressive array of laws, legislatures, civil servants and courts to give justice to the people. In practice, this is only paper law and paper justice. Less and less do the public view the police, the administration or the courts as avenues of justice. What seems to work is money, influence and muscle.

of course, once such liquidation became regarded as permissible, individual policemen began liquidating innocent people just to settle personal scores. It is a fact that Sikh terrorists took to arms after their relatives were killed in stage-managed encounters.

The incompetence of the police and the courts is just a small part of a much larger malaise. The administrative and political culture has got debased to such an extent that those in power are no longer shaken by patent incompetence. A State which cannot provide a decent water supply, cannot give a regular electric supply, cannot make telephones work, cannot build roads without potholes, is one which cannot make the police or courts work either. In theory, India has an impressive array of laws, legislatures, civil servants and courts to give justice to the people. In practice, this is only paper law and paper justice. Less and less do the public view the police, the administration or the courts as avenues of justice. What seems to work is money, influence and muscle. And since only a few have money or influence, muscle is increasingly viewed as the legitimate way of obtaining justice. Violence is the natural outcome of a State in moral decay. A State where official powers are constantly used to cream off black money and favour a few is a State where people will turn violent in the

name of religion (Punjab), caste (Gujarat) or race (Assam).

Indira Gandhi presided for almost 20 years over the moral decay of politics. There were many others who contributed to the process. But she exemplified the triumph of personality politics over principle, of corruption over good administration, and of cynical manipulation over propriety. In her scheme of things, what mattered above all was blind loyalty to the leader, regardless of what the leader did. And provided such loyalty was given, the loyalist could loot the State

lems plaguing Punjab and other parts of the country cannot be solved permanently until there is a return first of morality and then of competence.

It needs to be said that Rajiv Gandhi's accession to power has resulted in a considerable improvement in political morality. He did not sack non-Congress governments after his general election landslide. He refused to topple the Hegde government although there were any number of defectors willing to cross over to him, he enacted anti-defection legislation, he slashed the role of big money in elections, and he has now ordered a judicial inquiry into the conduct of a ruling Congress Chief Minister, Bhajan Lal. All of this would have been unthinkable in his mother's time.

It will take a long time and much more effort of this kind to restore the moral authority of the State, its legitimacy in the eyes of the people and, finally, its competence. That alone will enable it to deal effectively with the divisions of caste, community and race which are tearing the social fabric of the nation. Only when principles and national interests take precedence over personal and party interests will it be possible to combat communalism, regionalism and casteism. Rajiv Gandhi has made a good start. But there is a long and hard road ahead. Like his grandfather, he has promises to keep, and miles to go before he sleeps.

Panels to present Punjab case

The Punjab Government has constituted two high-powered committees headed by Sardar Manohar Singh Gill, I.A.S., to prepare the State's case regarding territorial & river water disputes.

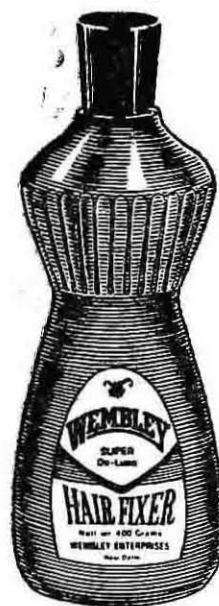
The committees will put up Punjab's case before the proposed commissions and tribunals which will be set up under the terms of the settlement reached between the Prime Minister and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

The Government has authorised the committees to seek the advice of scholars, experts and other knowledgeable persons in preparing the case on the two subjects.

The committees will also consult recognised political parties of Punjab. All these parties have been asked to nominate a person who could be consulted in this regard.

The committee on territorial dispute will consist of Sardar Manohar Singh Gill, Mrs Usha Vohra, Financial Commissioner, Revenue, Sardar Pritam Singh Kumedan, P.C.S. (retd.), and Sardar Amarjit Singh, Director of Industries. Dr Prem Singh, Professor of Linguistics, Delhi University, and Dr Attar Singh, a Professor in Panjab University, will act as consultants.

The committee on river water disputes will consist of Sardar Manohar Singh Gill, Mr Tejinder Khanna, Secretary, Irrigation and Power, Sardar Manohar Singh, Member (Technical), P. S. E. B., Sardar Paramjit Singh, I.A.S. (retd.), Sardar P. S. Gill, former Chairman, P. S. E. B., Mr Phul Chand Dhillon, Chief Engineer (retd.) and Sardar Hardev Singh, senior advocate, Supreme Court.



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Snail's speed of anti-Sikh riots inquiry

Wrong terms of reference to dilute evidence

Three and a half months after the government announcement of its composition, the Mishra commission is yet to begin in earnest its probe into anti-Sikh riots in Delhi, Kanpur and Bokaro. The snail's speed of its work, the inadequate terms of reference, the continuance in power of the men responsible for the carnage and pillage, and the fear lurking in the minds of the victims, which prevents them from giving gruesome accounts boldly and frankly, are factors which stand in the way of the commission ferreting out the truth, pinpointing the guilty and getting them exemplary punishment. These shortcomings have been highlighted in this article by Smitu Kothari and Rajni Bakshi, which first appeared in the "Illustrated Weekly of India".

It looks like one of the capital's stately homes, with high columns and a long-winding driveway. The board at the gate reads 'Finance Commission'. Inside, the long settled dust is finally being stirred and an unwieldy stack of desks and chairs are being moved to make room for yet another commission.

Eight months after the carnage of Sikhs and over three months after the demand for a judicial inquiry into the violence was finally conceded, the Commission is yet to set up shop.

Meanwhile, the memory of the genocide in which thousands were killed and many more thousands were injured recedes further into the public memory with every passing day. The killers and arsonists continue to freely roam the streets and the policemen who allegedly helped them, go unadmonished and unpunished. Outside of a small circle of civil liberties activists and the victims, few seem to find this situation gravely disturbing. Yet, it was commonly acknowledged, even while the killing of Sikhs continued, during the days following Mrs Gandhi's assassination, that the violence was organised by members of the ruling party and actively assisted by the authorities.

Within weeks of the incidents, the People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), and the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), jointly published a booklet called *Who are the Guilty?* A collection of eyewitness accounts and investigative reports, the new historic booklet concluded that several people in position of power and authority, including H.K.L. Bhagat, and Jagdish Tytler, had aided and abetted the violence.

Subsequently, Citizens for Democracy, and another independent group comprising academics and several senior retired civil servants headed by the retired Chief Justice of India S.M. Sikri, conducted their own investigations and published reports. All of them unanimously concluded that the post-assassination violence, was partly or largely organised by the ruling party.

However, for the next six months the government repeatedly turned down or ignored requests from these groups, the Sikh Forum and political parties, that a judicial commission be set up to inquire into these allegations. The various citizens' groups and civil liberties organisations insisted that such an inquiry was essential for healing the wounds. But the prime minister consistently maintained that an inquiry would damage the interests of the Sikhs.

This led the PUCL and PUDR to file a writ petition in the Delhi High Court, asking for an inquiry to be set up. In rejecting the petition, Justices Y. Dayal and B.N. Kirpal stated that the police and the executive had launched effective actions to deal with those responsible for the carnage. The court argued that a new channel of inquiry would create "unlimited confusion" while also causing "permanent stigma on the entire police hierarchy". The judges also outlined the court's inability to interfere when an official investigation was already on, and expressed its satisfaction with the measures taken by the police and the administration, saying that "an inquiry by the court will not reveal more". Finally it argued that such an inquiry by the court would not

alleviate the feelings of those affected by the carnage but instead would exacerbate them and provoke mass frenzy.

The judges had revealed their bias on this issue even during the hearings on the writ petition. Justice Dayal had scathingly referred to journalists as "wretched" and professors as "worse" and added that civil liberties organisations "serve no purpose". In response to this, some journalists and civil liberties activists had filed a case in the Sessions Court, challenging these remarks of Justice Dayal. This case was also dismissed. The judge hearing the case stated in his judgement that, "I have come to the conclusion that the alleged remarks have a reasonable connection with the discharge of official duty (of the judge) and that therefore, under sec. 197 CrPC, no notice need be taken about such remarks."

The inquiry commission was finally set up as a concession to the Akalis, who had made this one of the pre-conditions for resumption of talks, in a "fresh initiative" to resolve the Punjab problem. "Rajiv has not done this because he feels the government should do it but because of pressure. And then the terms of reference are so difficult that the victims are going to have a tough time proving anything," says Lt Gen J.S. Aurora, convenor of the Sikh Forum.

"After all this time, the real purpose seems to have been frustrated," says senior advocate Hardev Singh. "Eight months have gone by and in these inquiries you have to find causes and see the material situation. What evidence will you get six months later? Many people who would testify have left or are not willing to come forward. Immediately after the inquiry was announced, the culprits went around terrorising the people and threatening them if they testified."

After the official government notification on April 26, setting up the inquiry and naming Justice Ranganath Mishra of the Supreme Court as its head, it took almost two months to appoint a secretary and other staff for the Commission. However, concerned citizens formed the Citizens Justice Committee soon after the inquiry was announced in an attempt to ensure that the victims are able to adequately present their case

and to assist the Commission in unravelling the relevant facts about the riots.

The Committee is headed by Justice Sikri, and includes Justice V.M. Tarkunde, Soli Sorabjee, Khushwant Singh, Rajni Kothari, Lt Gen Aurora, Charanjit Singh and others, including prominent public interest lawyers. The Committee has set up sub groups to handle the fact finding and formulation of legal arguments. But for the last two months it has been waiting for a meeting with Justice Mishra, who has been out of town for several weeks.

When contacted, Justice Mishra declined to say anything about the procedures and work of the Commission, which he estimates will begin by the end of July. Since the secretary, who is an additional District and Sessions Judge, was only appointed in the last week of June, Mishra said the preliminary statutory requirements of the Commission are still being fulfilled.

The manner of, and delays in, making the Commission functional are a product of the Government's unapologetic attitude towards the post-assassination violence. When a big tree falls, the ground is bound shake, the new prime minister had said referring to the events that followed the late prime minister's murder. The refusal to institute an inquiry seemed to be based on the assumption that most people agreed with this view. The inquiry was finally set up therefore not as a response to moral pressure but to political pressure.

Even Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, who had demanded an inquiry into the riots all over the country, accepted this limited inquiry into the riots in Delhi alone. It was an indication that the Sikh leadership probably felt the demand could be pressed no further. The bomb blasts all over the northern states in mid-May, led to a mild revival of anti-Sikh feeling and indirectly helped the forces opposed to an inquiry. If the demand for an inquiry had an already weak popular base, it became weaker as sentiments against Sikh extremists ran to a new high and, by association, the whole Sikh community was regarded as guilty.

In this context, H.K.L. Bhagat and others within the Congress-I allegedly involved in

Many who fought hard for the inquiry, feel that if the government delayed the establishment and work of the inquiry commission in order to dilute the strength of the evidence—it has succeeded.

the carnage, have been able to forcefully argue that the accusations against them have been engineered by vested interests. They never failed to express their love for the Sikh community and instead that the post-assassination violence was a result of the people's "natural anger".

The party functionaries and others who made the most of this "natural anger" are still in command of their respective areas. Whether Bhagat's rating with the party is up or down, as it reportedly is at present, these functionaries retain their hold. This impinges directly on the victims' and witnesses' confidence on the law and order machinery—making them reluctant to testify. The worst sufferers, who are just beginning to pick up the pieces of their lives have little interest any more in any actions that threaten to once again violently rock the boat. They prefer to let bygones be bygones rather than jeopardise their slow recovery from the trauma. Very little effort has been made by the government to instil a sense of confidence in the mind of the Sikh community.

Therefore, many who fought hard for the inquiry, feel that if the government delayed the establishment and work of the inquiry commission in order to dilute the strength of the evidence—it has succeeded.

Yet, the delay is only part of the problem. The terms of reference of the Commission are considered unsatisfactory. Within days of the Commission's establishment, the Sikh Forum wrote to the prime minister saying that the terms of reference were inadequate. "Instead of (the Commission) being inquisitorial, the victims have to prove their allegations against government officials and party officials. Normally it is up to the government to have their own investigative team and call witnesses etc," says Lt Gen Aurora.

At the time of writing, the complete terms of reference had not been made available to the Citizens Justice Committee, inspite of repeated requests. From what has so far been published in the newspapers, the Committee knows that the inquiry commission is to examine "allegations of organised violence" and suggest measures to prevent the recurrence of such outbreaks in the future. The terms of reference, (as known so far) say nothing about punishing the guilty or initiating criminal

proceedings against them, says Hardev Singh who is an active member of the legal cell of the Citizens Justice Committee.

Under these terms of reference Hardev Singh says, the Commission will require people to come forward and make allegations. "The affected people are saying why rake it all up again. . . even the prime minister has said that those police officials who figure in this (the allegations) should not go to call on the judge. To acknowledge this is to admit the gravity of the situation and the degree of decline (in the credibility of the law and order machinery)," says Hardev Singh.

It will be virtually impossible for most of the victims to actually come forward and make the allegations because they continue to live in terror, under the continued threats of the perpetrators of violence. The Citizen's Justice Committee has drawn the Commission's attention to these and other points in a memorandum and made suggestions as to how these hurdles can be overcome. "It is not feasible to carry on an impartial and effective inquiry into the

riots unless such officials and police personnel are disassociated and steps are taken to ensure that they do not in any manner influence the investigation. The victims of the riots cannot be expected to come forth to testify fearlessly so long as such persons continue wielding positions of authority", states the memo to Justice Mishra.

The Committee has therefore asked that those officials implicated in the violence be either transferred or suspended "to allay fear in the mind of victims and instil confidence among the people". It has also been stressed that an effective investigative machinery, free of official patronage and influence, is imperative for the Commission.

The Committee has also suggested that in this case 'allegations' not be treated as formal laying of charges by a complainant but that the allegations be taken from the reports of various citizens' groups and from the general public. Last, but not least, the Committee has requested that the Commission ensure protection for the witnesses.

The request for protection of

witnesses has special relevance in view of the fact that much of the police force accused of complicity in the violence is still on the offensive. The internal inquiry by the Delhi police into the allegations against their personnel has put in limbo by a writ petition filed by some of the policemen asking that the report be neither written, published nor acted upon.

Ved Marwah, who was conducting the inquiry and is now Commissioner of Police, Delhi, says that the inquiry was in its final stages when the government appointed the inquiry commission. The policemen filed a writ petition shortly after that. The petitioners have alleged that Marwah did not follow any set method in his investigations, took short cuts and therefore his proceedings are not legal. The petitioners have also argued that since the Commission has been set up to go into all the allegations, Marwah's efforts would be redundant.

Meanwhile, Marwah is not in a position to take any disciplinary action against those alleged to be involved. Some officials and constables who are implicated were transferred from their posts. Marwah is at pains to stress that transfers are an administrative action and not a disciplinary action. The Commissioner has committed himself to giving full cooperation to the Commission and said that he does not anticipate any problems about turning over the documents and evidence he collected during the departmental inquiry to the Commission.

Given all the doubts and constraints that appear to be inherent to the nature of the Commission there is not much optimism about its final outcome. Many of those involved with the Citizens Justice Committee seem sceptical but are also determined to make the most of a given situation and wrest some concrete gains from the Commission.

"We hope for the best", says H.S. Bhoolka, convenor and secretary of the Committee. "Justice Mishra's response to this memorandum will show whether they intend to hold a free and fair inquiry. Because the measures suggested in this are essential for a free and fair inquiry."

Whether the end product of that work will actually help restore the victims' faith in a system of law, order and justice is uncertain. But regardless of the quality of the Commission's proceedings, the bitterness and anger instilled by the manner of its being instituted is not likely to be erased.

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By :
Sardar Bharpur Singh, Chandigarh

PROSPECTS OF ELECTIONS IN PUNJAB

There are different reports appearing in the press of the country whether the Centre will decide in favour of holding elections in Punjab for its assembly and for the 13 seats in Parliament. It appears that the Prime Minister is in favour of holding the election in Punjab to restore democratic form of government. The governor of Punjab is also well inclined in favour of holding the elections. There is little doubt in the public mind that the Congress (I) also will be able to persuade the Prime Minister to hold the elections in September next and not to postpone them under any circumstances.

The Akali Dal has yet to decide what steps they will take if elections are held or what will be their attitude generally if the elections are postponed to some further date and a few months later by amending the Constitution, as according to the provision of the Constitution as they exist at present elections have got to be held after the period of two postponements of six months each.

The Hindu Raksha Samitis are urging a postponement of elections for a further period. The Haryana Lok Dal M.L.A.s under the leadership of Chaudhary Devi Lal threatens to quit the State Assembly on August 14th to protest against the accord which deprives Haryana of its share of waters from Ravi-Beas and its claim on the Abohar-Fazilka areas.

The Bhartiya Janta Party of Punjab under the leadership of Dr. Baldev Parkash is in favour of elections being held in Punjab which he thinks will restore normalcy in Punjab expeditiously. There is little doubt now in the public of Punjab-Hindus and the Sikhs—that election will be held and a ministry will be installed before the expiry of the Presi-

dent's rule in the State.

Ministry

It is not possible for any one as to which political party will form the government in the Punjab State.

The Congress (I) is very hopeful that the Hindu voters will vote for the Congress (I) candidates whether Hindus or Sikhs—only to be sure that the Congress (I) Ministry is installed. There are people who believe that Hindu voters will liberally vote for the Sikh candidate to defeat the Congress (I) candidate. The political alignment is not yet clear though the elections will certainly be held now i.e. in September or a little later.

The main question which is now being deeply and hotly debated is whether the Akalis will form the Ministry with the help of both the Communist parties and some others as has been the case before or the Congress (I) will be able to get into power as has been the case before. The non-Congress (I) Ministries in Punjab did not survive for long for one reason or the other but mainly on account of defectors or its supporters.

It is true, the general public, feeling is that there should be peace and new prosperity should be ushered in the State by the union, goodwill of Hindus and Sikhs in elections and in the setting up of ministry.

The Shiromani Akali Dal leaders are very keen to restore normal relations with Hindus not only of Punjab but all over India. It is only some communal minded parties which are getting active to spoil the good effects of the accord between the Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. The Sant is supported fully by other top Akali leaders and the Prime Minister has received tremendous support from all sides throughout the country.

There are some parties in some States which are trying to put pressure on the Prime Minister to do this and not to do that. The Akali leaders have unanimously agreed to support the accord.

If Akali leaders can manage to put their own house in order that is the dissident groups can be reconciled and if Akali leaders can win the confidence of the general Hindu electorate they can come into power and form a ministry under the leadership of Sardar Parkash Singh Badal.

Panels for missing youth set up in Punjab

The Punjab Government constituted advisory panels consisting of political leaders and other prominent citizens for each district and for the Union Territory of Chandigarh to handle the cases of "missing" youth.

The Governor, Mr Arjun Singh, had made an announcement in this regard at Amritsar on August 9.

These panels will in coordination with the Deputy Commissioners and S.S.P.s contact the families of the youth who had gone underground after Operation Bluestar.

The Government will make public the names of persons wanted by the police. The panels will look into cases of those who surrender to the police. The panels will also ask the families of the underground youth to encourage them to surrender.

The following are the members of the panels :

Union Territory of Chandigarh

Mr Mohan Lal; Mr Jagan Nath Kaushal; Lieut-Col Gurdial Singh; Sardar Joginder Singh Sawhney; Sardar A.S. Sarna; Mr Daulat Ram Sharma and the Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University.

Amritsar District

Sardar Kirpal Singh, President of the Chief Khalsa Dewan; Dr Baldev Parkash; Dr Gurdial Singh Dhillon and Sardar Major Singh Uboke, a former M.L.A. from Tarn Taran; Sardar Harbhajan Singh Sandhu; Sardar Iqbal Singh, a former M.L.A., and the Vice-Chancellor Guru Nanak Dev University.

Bhatinda District

Mr Hit Abhilashi, a former Minister; Sardar Avtar Singh Gatwali, a former Minister; Sardar Jaswant Singh, an advocate and district Jathedar of the Akali Dal; Sardar Nirdev Singh, an advocate; Sardar Gulzar Singh, former M.L.A.

Faridkot District

Sardarni Gurbinder Kaur Brar; Lala Bhagwan Dass, a former Minister; Sardar Malkiat Singh, an advocate from Moga; and Sardar Gurdev Singh Badal, a former M.L.A. from Faridkot.

Ferozepore District

Sardar Harcharan Singh Hero, Chairman, Markfed; Com. Sarwan Singh; Sardar Hari Singh Zira, a former M.L.A.; Sardar Inderjeet Singh, General Secretary of the Youth Wing of the Akali Dal and Mr Sajjan Kumar Jakhar.

Gurdaspur District

Com Raj Kumar, M.L.A.; Mr Santokh Singh Randhawa;

Sardar Natha Singh Dalam; Sardar Sucha Singh Chhotepur and Mr Ram Sarup Baghi, a former M.L.A.

Hoshiarpur District

Dr Kewal Krishan, a former Minister; Mr Hari Mittar Hans a former M.L.A.; Sardar Kabul Singh, a member of the S.G.P.C. and Sardar Upkar Singh Randhawa.

Jalandhar District

Sardar Jagjit Singh a former M.L.A.; Sardar Harbhajan Singh of the Janta Party; Mr Yash, Editor, Milap; Mr Man Mohan Kalia; Sardar Surjit Singh Minhas, an advocate from Jalandhar; and Sardar Pritam Singh Oberoi.

Kapurthala District

Sardar Sukhjit Singh former ruler of Kapurthala; Mr Hans Raj Sharma, former Minister; Sardar Piara Singh, a Jathedar of the Akali Dal, Sultanpur Lodhi; Sardar Darshan Singh Josh, an advocate from Kapurthala; and Mr Piara Ram Dhanowali.

Ludhiana District

Sardar H.S. Hanspal, M.P.; Sardar Beant Singh, a former Minister; Jathedar Surjan Singh Thekedar; Sardar Amrik Singh Aliwal and the Vice-Chancellor of Punjab Agricultural University.

Patiala District

Capt Amarinder Singh; Lieut-Gen Gurbachan Singh Buch; Sardar Bir Devinder Singh, a former M.L.A.; Sardar Prem Singh Chandumajra and the Vice-Chancellor of Punjabi University.

Ropar District

Mr Ram Parkash Bali, a former M.L.A.; Sant Ajit Singh; Acharya Prithvi Singh Azad and Sardar Amarjit Singh Walia, Propaganda Secretary of the Youth Wing of the Akali Dal, Anandpur Sahib.

Sangrur District

Mr Fuzailur-Rehman Hilal Usmani, Mufti Derul Ifta, Malerkotla; Sardar Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa, a former Minister; Sardarni Rajinder Kaur Bhathal, Sardar Baldev Singh Mann, a former M.L.A.; and Com. Amar Singh, a former M.L.A.

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Letters to the Editor

THE PUNJAB ACCORD

Sir,—After four years of gloom, uncertainty of life and property, and severe tension, which affected domestic and neighbourly relations and overall happiness in life, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, helped by Mr Arjun Singh, Governor of Punjab have reached an accord on the Punjab tangle.

Since the signing of the accord, one hears and reads various comments like: Sardar Badal is sore over it; Baba Joginder Singh rejects it; and "Longowal does not represent the Sikh masses", "Longowal, Surjit Singh and Balwant Singh have betrayed and cheated the Sikhs". Agreement is sell-out, say militants in UK. BJP bewails that if an agreement was to be reached on these terms, why was not it done four years back? There would not have been Operation Bluestar and Punjab would have been saved from bloodbath and a prolonged reign of terror.

Since the results of the accord have been good, why crib? One should forget the means and methods applied, but only see the results.

All this indicates that even having suffered so much, we have not learnt the lesson and wisdom has not dawned on us. Therefore, there is a great need to educate political parties to appreciate the overall benefit to the nation in cooling down of tempers and the tension and restoration of the confidence that every domestic problem can be solved across the table. The need of the hour is that all political parties should adopt honest attitude of cooperation with the government, enabling it to implement the accord fruitfully and without any delay.

It is a well established fact the future of any nation, country or community will always depend on its youth's attitude and thinking towards the aims and objectives of the country. Therefore, at this juncture the Sikh youth is the central point of our community who, under all circumstances, must analyse the situation in the country in its true perspective dispassionately and then try to achieve Panthic objectives. At this stage if we do not get over our personal or group interests, Panth's doom is sure. The Sikh youth may be in any political or religious group, it must play its role judiciously as a Panthic soldier. A Sikh is a Sikh. We do not think that the youth are working to garb power. Their role at this juncture is to unite the various factions of the community to consolidate the gains

made and uphold the image and its *Chardi Kala* (high morale and prosperity).

In the light of this, it is necessary to appreciate the principles laid down and followed by the Sikh Gurus. Each and every Sikh knows that the Guru will not shower his blessings unless one follows them. Guru Gobind Singh says "*Rehat piari mujh ko, Sikh piara nahi* (I love the code of conduct and not the Sikh). Therefore, we will have to get down to "*Sewa Bhawna*" (service to the humanity), and not develop any sense to rule or dominate, which would lead to *haumai* (ego), the worst enemy of any human being as explained in Gurbani.

Though the Khalsa was created to serve humanity, its role started in the country of its birth. Therefore, now the task before us, specially the Sikh youth, is to preach love and affection to live up to the Sikh principles and traditions, and eradicate the feeling of anguish which has led certain number of Sikh youth to extremism to take revenge. There is no room in Sikhism for revenge because no Sikh Guru or their followers, howsoever they were tortured followed the path of revenge.

Some of the Sikh elder statesmen are showing resentment over the accord, feeling the Sikhs have gained nothing after having made enormous sacrifices. It should be realised that the accord between the Government and the Akalis has upheld the validity of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. It is considered as a national document and no longer carries the stigma of being secessionist, communal or anti-national. Its authors are exonerated from the said charges. Thus,

the status of the Sikhs has gone high in the eyes of general public.

It is wellknown that no solution can ever meet cent per cent requirements. Therefore, at this stage the formula of give-and-take needs to be respected. The Sikh leaders, in the interest of the Panth and the country, should give unreserved support to the accord. The recent show of illegal arms in Darbar Sahib to settle internal party differences has been a great setback to the prestige of Akali factions. At this moment both the respected

leaders, Sant Longowal and Baba Joginder Singh, must rise above their factional levels to serve the Panth only.

It must be pointed out that the Sikhs residing outside Punjab have made sacrifices for the Anandpur Sahib resolution and have suffered more than them as such, it is incumbent on the Sikhs of Punjab to give due respect to the views and requirements of the Sikhs residing outside Punjab for Panthic unity and mutual respect.

—Lt. Col. Manohar Singh
New Delhi. (Retd.)

Demolition of Historic Gurdwaras

Sir,—Religion and politics should have a holy mix. When religion dominates the life and character of a politician, result is sublime. That is what was meant by "*Miri Piri De Malik*" when he raised the holy Akal Takht at the command of his predecessor, father and Guru. He made the two—Miri and Piri—inseparable.

In recent years of turmoil in Punjab, the worst sufferers have been the gurdwaras.

The latest example is the demolition of the gurdwara at Bahadurgarh (Saifa Abad), Patiala.

When the government forces attacked the Gurdwaras in Punjab and when fanatic mobs burnt gurdwaras in the country, there was hue and cry by the Sikhs—a natural feeling of anguish. But now when a gurdwara of unique background has been demolished by the so-called Sikhs themselves, there is not a little finger raised except for Dr. Kawaljit Singh Kang. The artist in him laments the loss of art-murals.

This historic gurdwara was built to commemorate the stay during the journey that Guru Teg Bahadur undertook to offer unparalleled and unprecedented sacrifice. It was a symbol of a basic principle of Sikhism—

fight the tyranny, not the tyrant.

When Guru Sahib was going to protect the Hindu Dharam, he stayed with a Nawab, a Muslim. That, too a close relation of the tyrant—Aurangzeb.

During the stay of Guru Sahib at Saifa Abad, Nawab Saifuddin Fakirula held a conclave of five Sufi saints to discuss the situation arising out of communal policies of the Emperor. The Saints were: Syed Bhikhu Shah-(Gharam), Hazrat Mira Shah, Musa Rpoari, Mohammed Bakhsh (Samana) and Syed Hasan Ali. Thus, this gurdwara represented both the character and the will to fight oppression and work for communal harmony. It is ironic that it had to be demolished when these two factors are needed the most.

S. G. P. C., the elected body of the Sikhs to manage the historic gurdwaras cannot be absolved of the responsibility. Its members were too busy running after or improving their chances of political gains. No member of the S.G.P.C. was killed or wounded protecting the holy shrines i.e. discharging their duty towards dharam and community. Sardar Nachhattar Singh, though killed in the complex, died for political Morcha, not protecting the sanctity of Darbar Sahib.

I find it my duty to call upon the Sikh community as a whole and Jathedar of Akal Takht in particular to seek explanation from those responsible for the demolition and punish the guilty.

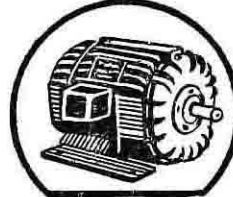
When such older buildings like Taj Mahal, Qutab Minar, St. Paul Cathedral, Leaning Tower etc. can be kept and maintained, why this Gurdwara was pulled down or was allowed to be pulled down?

Another historic gurdwara of Moti Bagh, Patiala, has been demolished. The introduction of non-Patiala residents for the destructive Kar Sewa makes it clear that Sikhs of Patiala who have emotional links with the said gurdwara, abhorred the job.

Immediate action against the guilty is called for.

—Ashok Singh Bhai
Chandigarh.

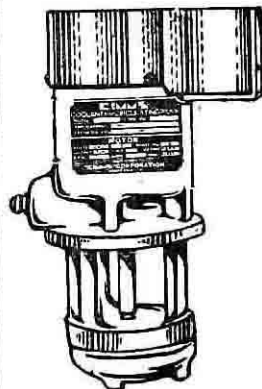
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The momentous accord

Sir,—The Sikhs in Bombay join their brethren across the nation in heartily welcoming the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal pact.

Not only the whole country, but also the Sikhs throughout the world have heaved a sigh of relief at the historic accord reached between the Government and the Akalis. The accord represents triumph of the democratic forces working for strengthening the nation's unity and cohesion. It is, thus, a victory for all the people of India. If it spells defeat for anybody or anything, it is for the dark forces of disunity and disintegration which stand effectively routed. The accord is also the best proof we could provide to the outside world of our being a mature and functioning democracy where minorities can live in peace and with honour.

With the signing of this momentous accord, a tragic and nightmarish chapter in India's post-independence history comes mercifully to a close, and the 24th of July 1985 might well go down as a redletter day in the life of the nation, heralding the dawn of a new era of peace, brotherhood and cooperation among all sections of the Indian people.

Great credit is due to our youthful prime minister for the farsightedness, political sagacity and magnanimity displayed by him. And to Sant Longowal must go the credit for the bold and courageous decision to respond positively to the prime minister's initiative, disregarding the dissenting voices in his own camp. In clinching this deal with the prime minister, the astute Sant has rescued an entire bruised and hurt community from the depths of despondency and uncertainty, and restored to the Sikhs the world over their lost pride and self-respect.

In a rare display of unanimity the whole nation has rallied behind the prime minister and enthusiastically welcomed the accord with one voice. And patriotic Indians and men of goodwill everywhere will join in sincerely hoping that the Sikhs, and more particularly the Akalis, would now close their ranks and strengthen the hands of Sant Longowal in order to ensure a smooth and speedy implementation of the terms of the accord.

As for the extremists and terrorists, the accord has effectively reduced them to fighters without a "cause", the cause having been suddenly and dramatically snatched away from their hands. And history has a way of dealing with, and quietly disposing of, protagonists of all lost causes.

—Jaswant Kaur Chopra

Bombay

Lest we forget Legendary Heros of the Indian Air Force

By : Wg. Cdr. R. Shankar

8th October, 1932. A long and protracted battle had been fought and won and the I. A. F. was born. The time and circumstances were ripe for the production of genius and genius appeared in the form of many youngmen. They all ran to type, those early pioneers of the IAF—imbued with skill, vision, a spirit of daring and missionary zeal. Some of them achieved greatness in their own time, and some survived to taste the stuff of greatness later. But there were many others, less endowed by nature, less favoured by fortune, who 'also ran', but have since been lost or forgotten in the maze of time.

Of the six Indians who first went to Cranwell for training and returned to form the embryo IAF, only one—Subroto Mukherjee—lived to carve a niche for himself in history. The remaining five deserve at least a passing mention, if only because, they helped to lay the earliest foundations of the giant war machine that is the IAF today. Harish Sircar hailed from a cultured and aristocratic Bengali family. Imbued with a passion for flying from an early age, he joined the IAF with alacrity, when opportunity arose. Cultured, intelligent with an athletic frame, he made a tremendous impression on his colleagues and subordinates, but unfortunately, destiny had an ignominious and in store for him.

The end of his career came almost before it began, when during an Army cooperation exercise he dived low and unwittingly churned through a column of sepoy's killing fourteen of them outright. A Court Martial was inevitable. But rather than bring disgrace to the newly formed IAF, he chose to resign his commission.

Also among the first six were two stalwart Sikhs—Amarjeet Singh and Bhupinder Singh. This uncle and nephew pair, known as A. Singh and B. Singh lost little time in carving a special reputation for themselves. Bhupinder Singh was the son of a very rich landlord and factory owner of Sargodha—Sardar Bahadur Kartar Singh. His uncle Col. D.B. Singh was a Railway official who had several hours of civil flying to his credit as a student in England. Young Bhupinder saw his uncle taking off every week end at Sargodha, and was obsessed with the idea of flying from an early age. Seeing Bhupinder cramming for the entrance examination for Cranwell, his nephew Amarjeet in his turn also decided to throw in his lot with him. Both of them passed together and were commissioned together. From the very beginning, Bhupinder earned a reputation for bravado and rashness. Air Chief Marshal Arjan Singh DFC (Retd.) recalls with humour, how when he went to Cranwell for

training, the first thing his instructors wished to know was if he was related to Bhupinder Singh. When he replied in the negative, one and all breathed a sigh of thankful relief. Even as a Cadet, young Bhupinder had become a familiar figure at Cranwell riding his powerful motorbike and meeting with an accident almost every week. The same daredevilry and rashness was to spell disaster for him in his career. During a cross country flight, he tried to lose height by spinning for landing, a rash habit he had formed. He lost control of the aircraft and crashed, killing himself and his nephew Amarjeet who had also flown with him.

For a man who intensely disliked travelling as a passenger, Henry Runganadhan, ironically met his death when flying as a passenger in a Hudson aircraft from Karachi to Kajamalai. His erstwhile deputy Air Chief Marshal Arjan Singh, who witnessed his crash recalls with poignant grief. "We began flying in a formation of four. Near Sukkur, I saw the Hurricane to the right break the formation and rise higher. It was a dangerous manoeuvre. I tried to warn pilot, but the W/T was faulty. Then the Hurricane came lower, its propeller cutting into the tail of the Hudson and I could see the tail of the Hudson become detached. The Hudson went into a spin and burst into flames as it crashed. I have not yet got over it."

Then there was the legendary Harjinder Singh who rose from a 'Hawai Sepoy' to an Air Vice Marshal. An engineering wizard, who as a Sergeant devised wheels of mulberry wood and kept the Lysanders of No. 1 IAF Squadron fully airborne at all times; whose ingenuity, drive and technical proficiency brought No. 1 IAF Squadron's serviceability to be the highest in the entire Royal Air Force during the Second World War. He has verily the father of the technical branch in the IAF.

Then there was the most benign and most loved Commander of all Air Vice Marshal, E.W. Pinto, a real Christian, who at all times placed the welfare of people placed under him far above his own. Last but not the least, there was late Air Vice Marshal Kanwar Jaswant Singh, an ace sportsman in his own right who was really the father of sports in the Air Force. Even today the trophy for the 'Best Sportsman' in the IAF is constituted in his name.

These people are no more. But they were a small part of the vast legend that is the Indian Air Force today.

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Relation Between Body and Life

By : Dr. Khushdeva Singh, Patiala

No life in any form and anywhere can exist without a body. All living beings from the smallest to the biggest both in animal kingdom and vegetable kingdom possess a body. What is body is known to most of us because it has got some shape or form of its own by which it can be seen and identified. Its origin is also known to a certain extent to the scientists. The body by and large looks after itself with its built-in systems provided by Nature. These systems work with perfect co-operation and harmony. The circulation of the blood, breathing in of air, digestion of food, and excretion of urine and faeces etc. are all such functions which go on by themselves.

All that the body needs for itself is some food to provide necessary energy, clothes to protect it from heat and cold, and a roof to protect it from the vagaries of Nature. It however offers all its faculties in the service of its occupant through the following three avenues: (a) it provides a physical vehicle for the Life without which the life could not exist, (b) it provides the instrument of perception, the sense organs like eyes, ears, nose, tongue and the sense of touch which gives awareness of the physical environment, (c) and lastly it provides instrument of reception and reaction with which it expresses itself through thought, word, and deed. Although the body provides all these services to its occupant, the body by itself is incapable of doing anything except looking after itself as given above.

Body is a priceless gift from the Nature. All the prophets all over the world appeared in a human form. The body provided them with the instrument of thinking so that they could meditate. Provided them with the instrument of speech so that they could give sermon, provided them with feet so that they could travel and reach those who were going astray, provided them with hands so that they could serve those who needed it. Blessed be the body that served.

Life is defined as continuous conscious existence for a period depending from species to species of the living being. It has got the universal qualities of self-preservation and self-propagation. Scientifically, the life is defined as a conditional biological phenomenon, which occurs under a set pattern of circumstances, created by Nature under the Laws of Creation. This pattern remains undergoing change, under the influence of remote

controls. The harmonies, the phenomenon of life stays as long as the changing pattern suits it. And disappears, when there is sudden change or disharmony, in the said pattern of circumstances.

Life may be divided into three main classes namely: (1) Animate or conscious as in the case of man and animals, (2) Dormant life as in the case of egg and seed, (3) Sub-conscious life-composed of all the organic and inorganic matter all over the world.

In the case of man the fertilised ovum gets adhered like a parasite to the uterine mucous membrane, destroying the epithelial cover over the area of contact and excavate for itself a cavity in the mucous membrane in which it gets embedded. It undergoes repeated segmentation into a number of cells which at first closely resemble one another, and later differentiate into two groups namely: (a) Somatic cells the function of which is to build up the various tissues of the body, and (b) germinal cells which ultimately get embedded into the genital glands (ovary and testes) and are destined for the perpetuation of the species. Slowly and slowly the fertilised ovum develops into an embryo, the embryo develops into a foetus, and after about nine months stay in the womb of its mother is delivered as a child. All it requires from outside is a mouthful of air with which it starts breathing.

Dormant Life

Dormant life may be divided

into that belonging to animal kingdom and that of vegetable kingdom.

Life in the case of an egg started with the union and amalgamation of the spermatozoa and the ovum in the womb of the female bird. There it developed to become an egg and was delivered as such. It contains the necessary food and essential elements for the future development of body and life. All it requires from outside is a little warmth for a certain period so that the process of development which was started in the womb of the female bird may continue, and after proper incubation, it may come out of the egg as a small bird. An egg left to itself is incapable of further development and after some time becomes stale resulting in the deterioration of the matter contained in it.

In the vegetable kingdom the seed loses the identity after being sown, and grows into a plant. This in course of time become mature and get laden with the pollen grains. These in fact are the male and female components, meant for the propagation of the species. Since a plant rooted in the ground cannot move, the Nature provided it with a mediator in the form of wind which blowed the pollen all over the plants, and in this process some pollen grains got fertilised, and the development of the seeds started while still on the plant. The parent plant attained the age of harvesting and the harvest was reaped. The development of life in the seeds did not complete, and remained in a developmental stage. The proof of this is that if such a seed is sown at that time it will not grow. However, if the seed is left alone for six months

the process of development of life gets completed and it will grow if sown at that time. In other words while the development of life in an egg required some heat for a few weeks, in the case of seeds it requires some time to be left alone so that the process of the development of life which started while on the plant may be completed. If the seed is not sown for more than a year, it will not grow as the life in the seeds gets deteriorated.

Sub-Conscious Life

The Matter according to our present day knowledge in the field of science is defined as one which occupies space, and with which we become acquainted through our body senses. It is divided into two categories namely the organic and inorganic. Somehow I strongly feel that this theory of gross inorganicness (Lifelessness) will not stand the test in the times to come. This feeling is based on two factors (1) All that we see around has got some structure or body and any object with a body cannot exist without having its innermost being the Life (2) It is also well known that a small rootlet of a sprouting seed can convert the inorganic matter into organic matter. From this also one is logically led to believe that the origin of life lies in the inorganic matter and the so called inorganic matter is only awakened to Life to become organic just as a dormant life in the egg becomes real life by properly hatching it.

It is also a fact that millions tons of inorganic matter is converted every day into vegetation growing all over the surface of the earth. Had it not been so, the animal life in this planet would not have existed as it is at present, because most of the animal life depends on the vegetable life in one form or the other, directly or indirectly. From all this, I strongly feel that all the matter right from a grain of sand to a big stone, and right from a drop of water to an Ocean possess some sort of subconscious existence (low grade life). It is a different matter that their life is not as conscious as that of plants and animals, and we refuse to accept its existence because of our incapability of assessing it by our present day known scientific methods. "What has been created is subject to destruction; It may be in a moment or in centuries, What is under destruction, is subject to Recreation, Through Recycling, This wheel of creation and destruction.

"Keeps the world on the move as we see it".



Bureaucracy Cannot Be Depended Upon To Give Fair Deal To Sikh Youth

Speedy Rehabilitation Will Help Restore Normalcy

In the implementation of the Rajiv-Longowal agreement of July 24 last, we cannot depend on the bureaucracy. More than three weeks have since elapsed, yet nothing tangible has been done to release thousands of Sikhs who have had nothing to do with either hijacking or waging war against the state, the two offences for which the special courts are to continue.

The process of reviewing the cases of more than 8,000 clamped behind prison walls had begun about a fortnight before the accord. But after that, the machinery appears to have grinded to a halt. During the last three weeks only 300 or so have been set free as against about 1,500 before.

The reviewing committee of officials looks dead set against early release of these Sikhs.

Akalis Must Give Lead . . .

(Continued from front page)

6.8 million-acre-feet of Ravi-Beas waters. If there is any diminution in this supply, vast areas of the state will become barren. The state supplies 70 percent of wheat and 55 percent of rice to the central buffer stock. New Delhi, and for that matter any sane person, would not like to kill the very goose which lays the golden egg.

In actuality, neither Rajasthan nor Haryana, being non-riparian states, can have any claim to Ravi-Beas waters. Both national and international norms militate against them. Rajasthan is being doled out water as, we are told, "it is a desert and needs compassion and sympathy." Haryana's claim is being upheld as a successor state.

But then why confine the pool to mere Punjab rivers? Why not include Yamuna also in it? As a successor state, Punjab has also claim to Yamuna waters.

There is an ideal solution. Only 10 percent of Ganga waters is being utilised. If a 60-km-long canal from Haridwar is dug out to connect the Ganga with Yamuna at Jagadhri, there will be surfeit of water both for Haryana and Rajasthan. Instead of allowing them to cast their covetous eyes on distant Ravi and Beas and spending hundreds of crores of rupees on Indira Gandhi Canal and Sutlej-Yamuna link canal, both the states can have water to their heart's content from this new and nearby augmented source.

This is a point which Akalis must drive home with force and clarity. No one should be permitted to squeeze Punjab dry to fill someone else's belly.

Their plea is that sudden descending of such a vast number of fiery men and women could disturb the law and order situation. But little do they realise that their continued detention keeps the embers of disaffection against the state burning.

A total of 285 army mutiniers had been dismissed before July 24 last. How many more will be made to swell their ranks

is a matter of conjecture. Though the army headquarters has issued instructions to various courts martial to show leniency, we are also told that army law shall have to take its own course. This means that the confirming authority shall have a crucial role to play in matters of sentences awarded.


The accord duly promised gainful employment for all those army men who are dismissed. Some time is bound to elapse between their dismissal and their placement in jobs. For the interim period, they cannot be allowed to starve. As an immediate relief, they should be given a sizable amount of money, say Rs 5,000 each.

These measures would help

soothe the ruffled feelings of the Sikhs and avoid distress.

Unemployment among the educated youth has served as the main fuel to the fires of so-called terrorism and extremism in Punjab. A young man, who is highly educated but has no means of livelihood of his own, becomes an easy prey for those who want to settle their scores with the government which they feel, rightly or wrongly, has not been fair to them.

Measures of rehabilitation must include provision of jobs to them with speed. The doors of government service must not be banged in the face of these Sikhs, merely because they were once member of All-India Sikh Students Federation, then a legal organisation, or shouted slogans against military invasion of the Golden Temple and other gurdwaras. Both the government and Sikhs business magnates must help others, who have an artisan skill of their own, set up small-shops and factories.




WHY...

- At times trains run late ?
- Colossal man hours are lost in various work places ?
- Students miss their classes ?
- The society suffers great inconvenience ?

**BECAUSE OF
INDISCRIMINATE
ALARM CHAIN
PULLING !**

USE ONLY IN REAL EMERGENCY

**It will help
maintain
punctuality**



NORTHERN RAILWAY